1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

ash in the pottery fragments. For actual use the ash, which has a salty taste, is placed in a half coco-nut shell and watered; and the salty water percolates through the eye-hole of the coco-nut into the cooking-pot.

Stimulants

The habit of betel-chewing is universal among men, women, and even young children. There can be no question that betel, a mild and comparatively harmless stimulant, does much to make the native's life pleasanter, especially by reason of the good-fellowship which is the best argument for all intoxicants. Areca or betel palms grow in every village. The betel pepper (*Piper betle*) called *Hingi* grows wild in the bush and is transplanted into villages and gardens. A superior cultivated kind is called *Hingi petani*. Legends of the origin or discovery of the areca palm and the betel pepper have been recounted elsewhere.[1]

Lime (*O-nasal*) is made by burning shell-fish from the sea or rivers. A small tower or pyre about 3 feet square and 3 feet 6 inches high is made of layers of dry sago branches laid criss-cross, and on each layer are set a number of shells. The pyre is lit from above in order to prevent premature collapse. It burns and cools rapidly, 'like paper'. The shells, which retain their shape, are transferred by improvised tongs to a sheet of banana leaf, which by being passed once or twice through the flames has become pliable. The shells are gently kneaded with mutterings of *ere ere!* 'Get up, hurry up!', which are meant to expedite the pulverizing process, and are cautiously sprinkled with water. Then the banana leaf is folded and left by a fire, presumably to hasten the slaking. If all this has been done carefully, the result will be a very fine soft powder.

The lime-pot (*O-kigi*) is a calabash with a stopper of closely woven strands of creeper. A somewhat more pretentious lime-pot, called *kananga*, is furnished with a shell mouthpiece set in black native beeswax, and encrusted with gems of scarlet seed and white shell fragments. The spatula (*O-ta*) is commonly of black wood. The point is thrust into

[1] *Orokaiva Magic*, p. 123.

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

the mouth of the lime-pot and then into the mouth of the chewer, who sucks off the thin coating of lime powder. Usually the spatula is very indifferently carved, for the Orokaiva is no wood-carver; the few examples illustrated are of somewhat exceptional merit (Plate XIII). With the large lime-pot (*kananga*) there usually goes a spatula of bone, and the two together may constitute an *otobu* or ceremonial gift made at initiation, though in use they are both appropriate to old age, and a youth or person of small consequence would not have the effrontery to use them. The old man makes a somewhat ostentatious rattling of the bone spatula against the opening of the *kananga*.

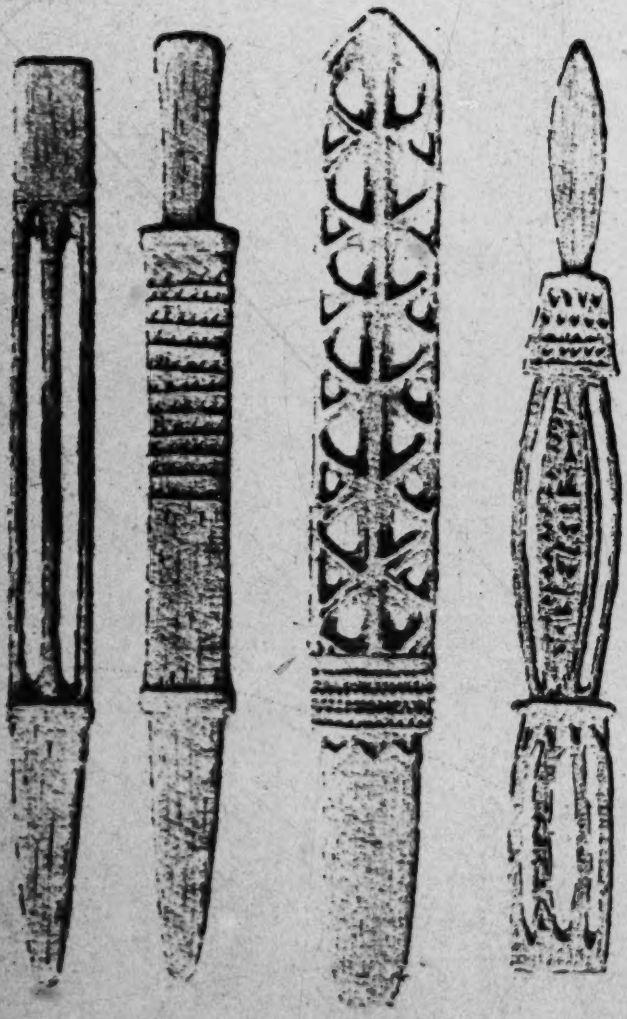
Tobacco is a late introduction in the Northern Division, having preceded the European by hardly more than a generation. The evidence clearly indicates that the mountaineers behind Kokoda first brought it to the Orokaiva, and that, travelling from the neighbourhood of Kokoda, it had not reached the Mambare or the lower Kumusi by the time MacGregor first visited these rivers.[1] Its original names are said to have been *orokaiva* (or *kaiva*) and *kuku*, the last being used before the whites brought their trade tobacco, which is now known throughout the Territory as *kuku*. The name *orokaiva* has already been discussed, but with regard to the others, *kaiva* and *kuku*, it may be worth while drawing attention to the singular coincidence that the two words are joined together in the Gulf Division and indicate a masked figure, *Kaivakuku*, and that in the Northern Division they are alternative names for the same substance, native tobacco.

Several other names, more or less local, are used, viz. *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* (derived from the resemblance of the tobacco leaf to those of the *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* trees); *Masati*, which is said to be the same word as *musa*, 'stink'; and *soka*, which bears a suspicious resemblance to the name *sokowa*, commonly used for tobacco west of the Fly river, and may have been introduced by the early Kiwai police. Several varieties are distinguished. The leaf is simply sun-dried, and is smoked either in the well-known bamboo tube (*pere*) or else rolled with some leaf or other into a cigarette.

[1] *Annual Report*, 1893, pp. 31, 34.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

276
415
531



O-ta or Lime Spatulae

PLATE XIII

[facing p 66]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

276 Certain barks are chewed as if they were stimulants, but it is questionable whether they have any effect other than in the imagination of the chewer. The most notable example [744] is a hot and highly scented bark called *Pota*, used by *Baigona* men, i.e. the exponents of the almost extinct cult of snakes. But one might suppose that if the product had any genuinely stimulant properties it would have come into wider use.

[531]

FIG. 13. *Poru* or Bamboo Pipe. Incised and partly scraped, the scraped surfaces being shaded.

Satiri or *Poki* (Fork)—The V-shaped cut in the top of a building post.
Tono—A kind of tree snake.
Papau—The hole made in a branch by a boring insect.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

6. *Prophets and Converts*

The means of disseminating the Taro cult have already been discussed in general terms: we have seen that they are (*a*) contact transmission and (*b*) active proselytism. In this section it is proposed to deal with the individual Taro man, and especially the way in which he becomes a Taro man. It is obvious to the native as well as to ourselves that the cult is passed on from one man to another, but it is generally claimed by the convert that he has received direct inspiration as well. Accordingly we may discuss the individual acquisition of the Taro under two headings, (*a*) Communicating the Taro, and (*b*) Direct Inspiration. Further, it will be of course understood that what is here set down is in the main the native's own explanation of these processes.

(*a*) *Communicating the Taro.* We have seen (p. 15) how Buninia in the early days not only instructed the people but communicated an influence to them by physical contact. There are many similar instances. Mere propinquity is enough. Thus we hear of a well-known character of the Wasida district, one Sihure (perhaps somewhat abnormal and on that account all the more celebrated as an exponent of the Taro), sitting surrounded closely by his friends who are anxious to receive the influence. Sihure chews betel very intemperately, until in due course the *jipari* or shaking-fit attacks him, and is unaccountably transmitted to the others who crowd around. Such an incident is easy to understand, but in others the connexion or the medium of transmission seems more than a little fanciful. A recognized instrument of passing on the Taro is the lime-pot: the master allows the prospective disciple to make use of his spatula and lime, and presently he, the latter, finds himself possessed. A man Taimi used to receive visits from the *bini* of his mother, and would constantly be afflicted with *jipari*. The way in which he communicated this *jipari* to a friend is worth recording in that it shows what

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

'boo' which another little boy said in another version of the story.[1]

Regarding the betel palm there is an old story of a liaison with a village woman. Nightly the betel palm bends down over her house to visit her, and every morning, when the birds are waking, bends slowly back to stand once more as a silent palm, but leaving around the house a litter of small flowers. Every morning the wife is seen sweeping these aside, till at last suspicions are aroused: the little boy hides behind a tree to spy; the betel palm is discovered in his intrigue and chopped down by the jealous husband. Collapsing he cries, 'Now I am no longer a man but a mere betel palm: take these nuts and eat them,' and he scatters bunches for all the tribes of the north.

The betel pepper grows wild in the bush, and there is a plausible though no doubt imaginative tale of how its properties were discovered. Formerly the areca or betel-nut was chewed with lime alone, and the chewer had not the pleasant hot flavour of a condiment nor the highly becoming colour of red in his mouth. But once a solitary hunter speared a pig, and sat down on the scene of his exploit to refresh himself with lime and betel. Then he looked about him for the wherewithal to bind the pig to a pole. With the usual extempore resource, he dragged down a liana from a near-by tree, and worrying and biting it through with his teeth, by way of the handiest implements he had, discovered as he thought that his mouth was full of blood. But he soon reassured himself, and understood that the redness was due to nothing more than the mordant, peppery juice of the creeper, which had mixed with his mouthful of lime and betel. After this follows the happy scene in which he acquaints his people with the discovery, and the general inauguration of a very ugly habit.

There are other tales of other products, more interest-

[1] 'Coco-nut', in Waiala dialect, *a*; Aiga, *ku*; Binandele *muteri*. *Muteri-mu-duri*, i.e. 'to say "mu"'.